

# WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

## THE

# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

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Socialist Party.

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### What is Revolutionary Political Action?

By W.H. and J.A.D.

The recent Sydney Conference on Industrial Unionism declared in favor of Revolutionary Political Action.

What does this mean?

It can best be seen when contrasted with Reform Political Action; which is as follows: An advocacy of old age pensions, which the Australian Labor Party advocated as a right for a worker having reached the age of 65, simply amounts to a cheaper method of dealing with pauperism than benevolent asylums or the British system of workhouses. It does not touch the cause of pauperism. An advocacy of baby bonuses, which was put forward by the Labor Party after the introduction of the Citizen Defence Act (by conscription), as a solace to the women of Australia and a direct encouragement to procreation (of more wage slaves for the capitalists). The Labor Party held two referendums for the purpose of altering the Constitution of the Commonwealth, so that Parliament would have power to control trusts and monopolies.

Revolutionary Political Action recognises that the only control of trusts and monopolies can be through the workers, organised in industry, owning and democratically controlling the trusts from within, in contrast to Reform Political Action administering them by autocratic State officials—Commissioners and managers elected by Permanent Departments or by Ministers of the Crown, and not answerable to the people. These State officials are more tyrannical than any private employer as a rule. Yet Reform Political Action aims to increase their number "in the interests of the working class!"

Reform Political Action leads the workers to look to Parliament for any redress of their wrongs, leading them to believe that such redress is granted. Through Parliament the working class have been presented with Arbitration Courts and Wages Boards, etc. Such courts presuppose a permanent position of wage slavery, and conditions are far as the purpose of making conditions as fair as possible. Kind of padding the yoke of wage slavery.

Revolutionary Political Action, on the other hand, teaches the workers to rely upon their organised Industrial strength, recognising that the only redress they will ever get will be such as their solidarity can enforce.

Revolutionary Political Action recognises that no redress can be obtained through Parliament, even of a palliative measure, without the workers have organised strength to demand such. Recognising that the Political State must be abolished before Industrial Democracy can be established, the Revolutionary Political Party of Labor will do their utmost to safeguard the Industrial movement while organising, and strive by every means within its power both by means of Parliament and the power of public opinion to keep a shield over the workers' heads to ward off the more brutal onslaughts of the employing class. The Revolutionary Political Party of Labor will have one object, and all its tactics and aims must be in line with its objective, and that is the capture of the Political State to abolish and destroy it. Thus giving over all power of Government to the Industrial Administration of Labor, the administrative body of One Great Union, which will then comprise every one who works, mentally and manually, in production of social service.

Revolutionary Political Action is based upon a recognition that the employing class and the working class have nothing in common, therefore it implies that no

# THE DAY OF THE RED ARMY.

Translated from "Pravda" Petrograd,  
FOR THE "INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST."

25th March, 1918.

A crowded meeting was held in the Alexandra Theatre (The People's Forum). The speakers were Comrades Zinovieff, Waladarsky, Lashavish, Poserin, Manoyelo and others.

In their speeches the speakers went into all the details of the past activities and outlines the possibilities of the future.

#### REVIEW OF SPEECH BY LAUNCHASKY.

Europe is still temporarily blind. Nations are still at one another's throats, but the thin thread of Imperialism will soon break and the masses will come into their own. German Imperialism, with its territorial gluttony, knows not where to stop. In the German Reichstag the annexationists are wondering why a levy was not exacted from Russia. The peculiarity of Imperialism is that it is dying a natural death and must necessarily explode due to sheer gluttony.

The day the European Imperialists show their bankruptcy the masses will rise against them: just when they pause to take a breath their power will come to a sudden stop.

Prepare for this great day! Organise an army that will be ready to fill the ranks of the International Proletariat!

Comrade Poserin explained apparent difficulties in answer to question coming from the audience. He said: We asked the army generals, as specialists in their particular profession, to work with us, but UNDER OUR CONTROL. The power they once possessed under the old regime is gone, and gone for ever, never to return. Every mark of distinction has been banished.

Under the autocracy of the late Czar Nicholas the masses only heard the one word: "WORK," from the school room floor, the

Arbitration, no Conciliation, no Wages Boards can be of any use to the workers. Recognising that the workers, manual and mental, produce all value, and that they are robbed at the point of production—the mine, the field, the factory—of at least two-thirds of what they as a class produce; therefore Revolutionary Political Action recognised that the robbed cannot arbitrate with the robber. In Arbitration Courts, disputes between workers and employers are adjudicated upon and for the time being patched up, but always in the interest of the employers. Such awards foster a spirit opposed to class solidarity, though the union agreements which allow one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry when a strike or lockout is on. The awards forcing the unionists to become scabs by penalties against the union and individual members.

At the best, Arbitration Court awards are but bribes to sections of workers to desert the rest of the working class, and are a means for the employers to be certain of continuous production, thus continuous extraction of surplus value from the workers,—the one and only source of profits, the magic source of millionaires.

In brief, Revolutionary Political Action is No Compromise. Reform Political Action means compromise and palliation.

police in the streets and the clergy in the pulpits; this word, drummed in their ears; and for all their work and arduous toil they received only the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table. All through the ages the great mass of useful toilers have been ground DOWN UNDER THE IRON HELL OF AUTOCRATIC DESPOTISM AND BLOODY TYRANNY. It would be unnatural were it not so, and when the workers rise in the majesty of their might they will destroy for ever the brutal system that has crushed the wealth producers in the dust.

We cannot expect the Socialist Republic to exist without a DIRECTING AUTHORITY, AND THAT AUTHORITY WE ARE NOW

The misfortune attending our revolution lays particularly in the fact that personal interests were dominant over the collective interests. In the face of the German invasion our soldiers were seizing hold of goods and getting away with them, thinking only of their own personality. To be perfectly candid, many enlisted in the Red Army only for their own personal interests, either for food, wages or firearms.

We see all of this with open eyes, but we are sincere in the knowledge that sooner or later the situation will cleanse itself and that the individualistic propensities will be eradicated and that a wholesome and healthy element will spring forth who will be ready to expend the last ounce of energy they possess for the glory of the fulfilment of our historic mission—the emancipation of the whole of the international proletariat.

We realise fully the necessity of discipline, but it must be a discipline of the spirit, founded on the consciousness and understanding of the great movement that lies before us.

To-day on Nevsky Prospect several divisions of the Socialist Army marched, and their fine morale and manly bearing commanded the attention of Petrograd's vast population. We begin to feel that we must have order. But what order? That order must come through the consciousness of OUR OWN PEOPLE, and not by the armed force of outside Imperialism. Our Red Army is establishing so that every citizen will understand the use of arms, not for the purpose of invading the territory of others, but for the purpose of defending the NEW SOCIAL ORDER. Those who join the Red Army with a view to furthering their own individual ends will soon realise that with them and the Army of the Revolution there is nothing in common.

Here the question was asked: "When will the wheels of industry begin to operate?" The answer was: "The workshops will begin operations whenever the system of transportation is improved, and we obtain the coal and raw material."

We have survived great tests and terrible ordeals in the past. Shall we now be able to wind the social clock or shall we await the hour when it shall be wound by external generals with bayonets and the lash? It is necessary for us to fight our internal foes, individual interests, over-collective interests and unbridled dissoluteness; and we hope by the power of internal discipline to overcome and be victorious over both external and internal foes and to march triumphantly to the goal of the world's disinherited.

#### WALADASKY'S SPEECH.

The celebration of the Revolution has ended and the day for solid constructive work has come. The day for resolutions and speeches has gone and the day has come for hard toll,

and there is plenty of work for all to do. It is necessary to repair the engines, regulate the transportation, improve the supply of provisions. If we are able to do all this in the next few months we need not fear the greatest enemy, and we will be able to say with satisfaction that we have done our duty as revolutionaries. Comrades, Workers and Peasants! If you want to be free, if you do not want to see that dread period of sadness return from which we have emerged, we must get to work like men.

We Bolsheviks are accused of contradictions. We are told that on one hand we preach Internationalism and in the same breath we preach National defence. But Comrades, if you will carefully think this matter over you will find that there is no contradiction. We were not against every war, we are not pacifists; we are against the war of the plunderers, because it is not in the interests of the workers and peasants, but now that the authority is in the hands of the working-class it is necessary for us to have the Red Army for the defence of the Revolution and to conquer the plunderers of International Imperialism.

Comrades, our position is not nearly as hopeless as our enemies are trying to make out. Two world imperialists are cutting one another's throats; in that struggle they are growing weaker and weaker. The International Imperialist knows only too well that OUR weakness is only a temporary one, and that with their growing weakness comes our growing strength. No wonder that the wisest of the International Imperialists (President Wilson) greeted us on the Conference of the Soviets and endeavored to assure us of his friendly feelings towards the Soviet Republic.

We have been often asked the question: "Wherein lay the wisdom of destroying the discipline by driving the Generals out of the Army, if we are going to re-create discipline and invite the Generals back again." To this we say: "If we had to start the revolution again to-morrow we would do exactly the same. In the first place, it was necessary to expel the Generals to make them understand that their former power was gone, and when they were no longer a menace to the cause we invite them back TO SERVE THE PEOPLE'S CAUSE."

We Bolsheviks are accused of atrocities. That cry is as ancient as the hills, and its motive is to raise the international workers—who are thoughtless—against us. We do say that in our fight we are unmerciful to a class, but not to the individuals of a class.

We do not gloat over the fact that ex-Army Officers stand on the streets of Petrograd selling papers which are going to educate the people; we find no joy in seeing an individual in this position, but to the class to which this individual belongs all our sympathy disappears.

As the English proverb has it: Opportunity knocks but once at the door of every man.

Destiny gives us this chance, and we dare not neglect it. Remember, Comrades! Bear this well in mind: it is necessary to put YOUR shoulder to the wheel and brace yourself.

It was time, and only a few months ago, to revolt; now we do not call for revolt, but to tenaciously bend to constructive work. IN THIS LIES OUR SALVATION, in all consciousness and knowledge that we are completing our historic mission. I beseech you to do your part in this work of self-denial. If we are to remain a free people it will only be because of our own class-conscious work.



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## Workers MUST Resent.

THE BLOW AT INDUSTRIAL  
DEMOCRACY.

By J. A. DAWSON.

The Industrial Democracy of New Rus-  
sia is beset with many difficulties. Theirs  
is a great task. They are the vanguard of  
the industrialists of all lands. They hold  
aloft the torch lighting the path to Free-  
dom for the world's toilers. Workers of  
Australia! Do not be led astray by the  
lies and horrible ravings of the capital-  
istic daily papers. Capital, the world  
over, recognises its deadly enemy in the  
working class movement of Russia—the  
Soviet Government of Russia.

Think always of the Bolsheviks as In-  
dustrial Unionists shaping a New Rus-  
sia based upon Democracy in Industry,  
and you will understand the hatred un-  
derlying all the reports on happenings in  
Russia, appearing in the daily press of  
Australia. For the Industrial Democracy  
of Russia portends the end of capitalistic  
oppression and exploitation in all lands.  
Workers of Australia! Hasten the day.

The capitalistic press always try to im-  
press their readers that the Bolsheviks are  
pro-German. This is a LIE. Towards the  
end of last May, General Krasnoff, a pro-  
German counter-revolutionary dictator,  
made his appearance in the Don and  
Kuban provinces of Russia. He was  
avowedly there in reliance upon Ger-  
many. "Yesterday's foreign foe, the  
Austro-Germans," he declared in his pro-  
clamation, "have entered our territory in  
alliance with us to fight the Red Guards."  
The German motive in setting up this pup-  
pet was and is to help New Russia from  
access to the southern seas. The Black  
Sea provinces, which are rich in economic  
sources, are to be denied to a Russia  
which German capitalists are determined,  
in their own class interests, to keep help-  
less and divided. Industrialists all the  
world over have faith in the Bolshevik-  
Soviet Government of Russia, and know  
that working class interests will make  
New Russia strong and united. Yet there  
is the possibility of outside capitalistic in-  
tervention producing a state of chaos in  
that such intervention is aimed at disor-  
ganising agriculture and alienating the  
peasants of Russia and Siberia—the  
weakest link in the chain, because the  
peasants are the most ignorant and simple  
of all Russians.

Workers of the world! Are you going  
to allow this crime against Labor.

You can stop it. You can organize  
industrially for the purpose of achieving  
working class emancipation in each your

## Slams and Jabs.

By JAYBES.

Prohibition has been adopted in the  
United States of America, and will come  
into effect next year. The skin of a sober  
slave is more valuable to the boss than the  
skin of a beer besotted one; that is the  
only reason the wise capitalist favors pro-  
hibition: and the booze-making capitalist  
may now turn and invest his surplus cap-  
ital in Sankey's hymn book, and his in-  
terpretation of morals will change with  
the changing of the articles he has to sell  
for profit.

Sammy Gompers is the President of the  
American Federation of Labor. This is  
one of the labor organisations the boss  
loves. It divides the workers up into eas-  
ily walloped sections and ties the work-  
ers down with long agreements with the  
boss. Sammy, for twenty years, has been  
the chief-general in the camp of the Cap-  
ital and Labor brotherhood known as the  
A. F. of Hell. He is as true to the mas-  
ters to-day as he was twenty years ago.  
Owing to this fidelity to the machine own-  
ers in the land of the wooden nutmeg, he  
is eulogised as a safe and sane labor lead-  
er—that means he is safe for the boss. Now  
this safe and sane social confidence  
man in the service of capitalism is going  
to attend the British Trades Union  
Conference in Derby. Judging from the  
last industrial conference of the British  
workers Sammy will think he has struck a  
cyclone. We hope he gets the reception  
all traitors deserves.

Scotland, or the best part of it, is own-  
ed by about 70 persons; 30,000 people own  
half of the United Kingdom. Four dukes  
own half of London.

This is perhaps the reason they have  
the following in big bold letters over the  
London Stock Exchange: "The earth is  
the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." They  
don't mention which lord, but we take it  
that they mean Lord Derby.

own countries; and force capital to fight  
You HERE.

Just as the Roman invaders of Britain  
were forced to leave Britain and return  
to Rome to defend Rome, just so will the  
capitalistic invaders of Russia be forced  
to return home if their interests are suffi-  
ciently menaced at home.

As the "Manchester Guardian" in a  
leading article says: "If there is one sub-  
ject more than another in Eastern Europe  
about which the German Government is  
certainly preoccupied, it is the possibil-  
ity of Russia beginning to recover herself  
before the war is over." And the "M.G." asks:  
"What are the Allies doing to  
strengthen the only anti-German force in  
Russia, the Soviets, against the Germans  
and the Governments established by them  
in Finland, the Ukraine, and the Don? The  
Germans support these Governments by  
the bayonet as a means of keeping  
Russia weak and helpless. Surely the  
least the Allies can do is to enter into  
direct communication with the Soviet Gov-  
ernment, and find out what measures of  
help and co-operation can be devised be-  
tween them."

But the great English Liberal paper,  
the "Manchester Guardian," forgets that  
the Soviet Government is a Working Class  
Government. Between Capital and Lab-  
or there can be no co-operation, but what  
would be to Labor's hurt. The Bolsh-  
eviki know this. Hence they told the Al-  
lies to keep out. I ask the question: is  
the scheme to starve Russia, only a Ger-  
man scheme? Germany has prevented  
Russia access to the southern seas. Who  
is preventing and seizing Russian access  
to the north sea and the Pacific? Arch-  
angel and Vladivostok. Telegrams in the  
British press early in last June referred  
to the Czech-Slavs as German troops.  
Why have the Allies taken these Czech-  
Slovaks to their bosoms?

Once before Capitalism made onslaught  
upon a nation—a small nation, in order  
to increase their profits. I refer in this  
instance (of course, instances are numer-  
ous) to the onslaught upon the Boers of  
South Africa. This little handful was fi-  
nally forced to give in when hemmed in on  
all sides and starved into surrender. Cap-  
ital hopes to repeat such tactics upon a  
nation of 180 million people. They will  
not succeed. But they can cause chaos  
and misery and suffering and disease. And  
this in the NAME of "help."

The cables tell us that several of the  
Lords of England are selling THEIR land  
(probably for German gold, for they are  
not too particular where the money comes  
from).

The titled loafers and coronet bedecked  
social parasites see the handwriting on  
the wall. When Tommy comes home from  
the war and links up with his industrial  
brothers they will own the land they have  
fought for. They will unite industrially  
and politically and will take AND HOLD,  
not only the land, but all the instruments  
of production and distribution. This is the  
next step for the working class movement.  
This is inevitable if we are in step with  
progress. When this happens all these  
loafers and modern Shylocks will be able  
to go to work. Do YOUR bit to help this  
movement along by linking up with the  
W.I.L.U.

Interesting little items appears from  
time to time in the press—by accident, of  
course. A certain Miss Olive King, who  
has a dad who waxes fat on the products  
of some of the Sydney workers, is at-  
tempting to raise a fund of £10,000 for  
canteens to supply to the "poor Serbs"  
with soup kitchens and ham bones—all in  
the name of charity. This wily miss in-  
herits all the cunning of her class. She  
makes the fatal mistake of slipping over  
the sentimental rail into the domain of  
fact and gives her case away, and her sud-  
den philanthropic interest in the "poor  
Serb" is laid bare. Harken to the real  
reason!

"It is such a fertile country, so rich in  
minerals and other necessities that with  
British and American Capital to help it  
would soon be able to start a career of  
prosperity such as it has never known be-  
fore."

In Finland a second Commune slaugh-  
ter is taking place. The countries who  
are fighting against atrocities are deaf,  
dumb and blind to the terrible atrocities  
committed by the owning class against  
the ownerless class in this benighted land.  
Capitalism is international and con-  
veniently winks at capitalism's atrocities  
when the workers are struggling for free-  
dom. Your enemy, friend worker, is in  
the country where you work. You must  
save yourself and your class through class  
action. The time is here now when the  
workers MUST, for protection, join a re-  
volutionary organisation of their class.  
The Labor Party politicians have betrayed  
the trust you reposed in them, the  
craft union officials have purposely mis-  
led you so now you must do something  
for yourself, and assist in building up a  
strong revolutionary union that will make  
you free. That union must be built up  
on the plan laid down by the Workers'  
International Industrial Union, read the  
preamble, comrade, and if you are in ac-  
cord with it your place is in the W.I.L.U.

Billy Hughes has received the "free-  
dom of Aberdeen." He is welcome to it,  
for that is about all he will ever get out  
of Aberdeen.

"There is only one Jew there, and he  
hasn't money enough to get out."

Not despair, but wise devotion,

Takes the meanness from our task;  
High resolves and onward motion—  
These the passing moments ask.

—Ano.

The A.S.E., who are still at logger-  
heads with the bosses, refuse to have any-  
thing to do with the "One Big Union"  
scheme. The undertakers of Ballarat  
have followed their example. The slogan  
of both these organisations ought to be  
"THE UNION BURIES ITS DEAD, why  
not join the union and be supplied with a  
decent coffin?" We hope these two dead  
ones will come to life when they are fi-  
nished being knocked about sufficiently by  
the boss. "Experience teaches fools to  
be wise."

Later cables announce the fact that  
Gompers, has been dining with Lloyd  
George at a Government dinner in his  
honor. Woodrow Wilson heartily recom-  
mends Sammy to the British Government  
as America's "Labor Chief." This speaks  
volumes. Notice how the traitors to the  
working class are eulogised by the boss-  
es' press. Had he been a real Labor lead-  
er, ten chances to one he never would  
have got a passport to leave America.

The Painters' Union of Melbourne at a  
summoned meeting endorsed the flying of  
the RED FLAG over the Trades Hall.  
Judging from the speeches delivered all  
those who voted against the red flag were  
conscriptionists and win-we-warites. Those  
who voted for it belong to the win THE  
CLASS WARITES. Things are moving

slowly, but by the gods, THEY ARE  
moving. Sydney craft unionists, make a  
note of this!

A Reuter cable from Amsterdam re-  
ports the death of Comrade Lenin, the  
Bolshevik leader. We are in hopes that  
this is not true, and yet we know that  
the Social Revolutionaries (who are al-  
lied with the Allies) have sworn to kill  
Lenin because of his uncompromising  
stand in the workers' cause.

If Lenin is dead the International So-  
cialist movement has sustained the great-  
est loss since the death of Daniel De  
Leon. The reactionaries in Russia, like  
the reactionaries all over the earth, are in-  
dividualists—they are anarchists. They  
believe that by killing the leader of a  
movement they deal a death-blow to that  
movement. The Bolshevik movement in  
Russia cannot be killed that way, and  
even if our esteemed International com-  
rade, Nicolo Lenin, has paid the penalty  
of sincerity of purpose, it will not retard  
the movement for liberty, rather on the  
contrary, it will create a firmer deter-  
mination in the minds of those who are  
left. Men do not make movements, it is  
the movements that make the men. Bol-  
shevism made Lenin, and Lenin gave his  
energy to the movement. The trail he  
helped to blaze will be followed by mil-  
lions, and his name will be green in the  
memories of men when the last crown  
head is dust, and this parasitical system,  
who the noble Lenin so strenuously  
fought against, has passed into the dust  
bins of history. We hope Lenin IS NOT  
dead!

When the press praise your craft union  
secretary, throw him out, he has bet-  
trayed you. The latest example of this  
is the eulogy conferred upon Henry Wat-  
son, secretary of the Melbourne Paint-  
ers' Union, who in fighting against the  
best interests of the working class opposed  
the "One Big Union Scheme." The  
"Herald" has this to say of him:

"One union secretary, Mr. H. Wat-  
son, of the Painters' Union, went so far  
as to deny the truth of the assertion that  
the working class and the employing class  
have nothing in common. He backed this  
up by a brief commonsense exposition of  
everyday economics, which it is refresh-  
ing to read." We do not know what is  
meant by "Everyday economics," un-  
less it be the economics dished out every  
day by the harlot press; but what we do  
know is, Mr. Watson knows as much  
about economics as a bee knows about  
airships. The boss grabs at straws, and  
Harry is one of the straws. He has very  
little influence in his own union, for at  
the last meeting he nearly wept when de-  
nouncing the Red Flag, and lost out in the  
end. The Painters' Union, if properly  
called together to discuss the matter or  
the "One Big Union Scheme," would  
prove to its opponents that it heartily en-  
dorses the Preamble and constitution.  
With secretaries of this description the  
feeling of a movement is often misrep-  
resented. On with the good work, and as  
long as there is no watering down we are  
with you tooth and nail.

There are still more RATS in the Lab-  
or Party, and they are gradually coming  
out of their holes. The N.S.W. push are  
afraid of their seats next election, and  
what is principle when compared with  
£12 a week? The press of the enemy  
glories in the fact that there is dissen-  
sion in Labor's ranks. We glory in the  
fact that labor is getting rid of those  
who are in the movement for what there  
is in it for them.

We are pleased to state that the plun-  
derers at present in Siberia intent on  
grabbing land and all other exploitable  
things, are at it hammer and tongs with  
each other. They all want what they  
know the other fellow wants, and still  
they continue to cry out about the Ger-  
man invasion of Russia. Russia will cope  
with them all.

The "Melbourne Age" in a leading ar-  
ticle on September 3rd excels all pre-  
vious endeavors in moral prostitution,  
class venom, loathsome lying, vitriolic vi-  
tuperation and diabolical character assas-  
sination in a brutal attack upon a man  
whoses boots the "Age" leader writer is  
not fit to brush.

When the report arrived that Lenin was  
dead these scullions of plutocracy and  
social vultures set to work with their  
characteristic degradedness of spirit to  
vilify one of the greatest spirits of the  
age.

Our comrade, who we hope will keep on  
holding the torch that leads to economic  
liberty, spent his life in the working class  
movement. He suffered the pangs of Si-  
beria; his brother was killed by the des-



# Industrial Unionism.

THE PATH TO REAL DEMOCRACY.

## A Challenge and a Demand to the Victorian Socialist Party.

In a recent issue of the "Socialist," organ of the Victorian Socialist Party, is a leading article entitled "Socialist Party Troubles." An attempt is made to strike a note of optimism, and one sentence reads, "The Socialist march is different to the march of any other movement in that Socialists know why they march and whither. They march in the certitude and with the backing of scientific skill and support in their plan to reconstruct society, so that the reconstruction will mean the disappearance of wage slavery."

Now such appearing in the V.S.P. organ is but mushy sentiment. Firstly, the Victorian Socialist Party has no clear idea of where it is going. Secondly, it has no clear idea of HOW to get there. The V.S.P. can mouth the phrase abolition of wage slavery, but can it answer the question HOW?

Now the HOW is the most important thing in the Socialist movement to-day. The V.S.P. is in favor of a Socialist Federation of Australia, and as one plank advocates industrial unionism. Some years ago the V.S.P. stood forth as an advocate of industrial unionism, but finding the idea met with disfavor from the trades unions and the Labor Party, quietly dropped it. Now that the One Big Union idea is growing and demanding utterance even in the Trades Hall the V.S.P. once more advocates it. But the V.S.P. in this instance is merely a camp follower.

There are industrial unions and Revolutionary Industrial Unions, the latter alone are of any use to the Labor movement. The V.S.P. has not yet decided what form of Industrial Unionism it advocates. Let us hear a definite statement from official sources of the V.S.P. as to whether it is Revolutionary Industrial Unionism they favor, such as the Workers' International Industrial Union, or the scheme outlined at the Sydney Conference based upon the W.I.I.U. preamble; or whether the V.S.P. favors such mongrel schemes as the Federation scheme fathered by Wafson or the palliative, compromising, abortive scheme of the Victorian Labor Union as fathered by Mulvogue. Let the V.S.P. for once in its

pots of the Car while fighting in the workers' cause. He was a true-blue revolutionary.

When Kerensky attempted to make abortive the aspiration of the working-classes through his intrigues with international capitalism, it was our much esteemed co-worker, Lenin, who led the movement that overthrew the pseudo Socialists and petty reformers and completed the Proletarian revolution.

Can any man with one spark of intelligence believe that a man of this calibre could be pro or anti any nationality? Impossible! Unthinkable!

Lenin was pro-WORKING CLASS and anti-CAPITALIST CLASS. Lenin was one of the foremost of the world's INTERNATIONALISTS. German Gold! It is the insult that stings. Neither German nor British gold could deter the Lenin character from its purpose (the emancipation of the working-class).

I am not a Lenin, but I belong to the same movement as Lenin, and it is the only thing worth being proud of, and for my part there isn't enough gold up above or down below that could purchase me to be anti-working-class. How much more so Lenin, who has endured all the sufferings of a Russian revolutionary, who stood true to principle. How men can write like the leader writer in the "Age" and walk the streets with head erect is past my comprehension. He must be so soaked in the degraded filth of modern Journalism, representing capitalism, that all sense of decency has forsaken him. We are in receipt of news from Petrograd direct which gives the lie to these hounds who are paid to lie, and this very news is what is held from the people of Australia.

Keep on lying, dogs of the master's press! It is your function to destroy the truth! Some day in the near future we will gather up your lies and make you eat them until you choke.

career give a definite answer to this definite question. We await that answer, for upon that answer depends the Socialist Federation of Australia.

There is only one form of Democracy worthy the name. That form is Industrial Democracy. That is Democratic Government from the bottom up. Starting in the units of Industry—the shop, mine, or factory, with the workers engaged therein electing their own foremen and superintendents. And right on up through their Industrial Organisation welding the shop branches into Local Industrial Unions, comprising all workers in each given industry in the locality. The Local Industrial Unions welded together into National Industrial Unions, which in the next stage weld themselves together to form Industrial Departments, composed of the Industrial Unions of closely kindred industries suitable for classification in the Industrial Department. From these Departments of Industry representatives are elected to form the Central Administration, together with the Secretary-Treasurer, General Organiser, etc., who are elected from the floor of the Annual Convention.

The Convention is the supreme legislative body of the Industrial Democracy, and its actions and enactments are of legal force unless reversed upon a referendum vote by the whole membership touching any and all amendments to the organic law which the Convention may adopt.

Such a plan as outlined by The Workers' International Industrial Union is REAL Democracy. The Convention is composed of delegates elected from every unit of the One Great Union, yet its decisions are only final after the endorsement of the whole membership. The Victorian Socialist Party include H. Scott Bennett in their membership. Mr. Bennett is recognised as a leading light of the V.S.P., so notice is taken of his utterances. He declared not so long ago in answer to a question as to whether Political Democracy was sufficient, that Political Democracy was sufficient provided you have the initiative, referendum and recall. We declare that Political Democracy, notwithstanding any reform, is but a mockery and a delusion. Any political government, whether Liberal, Labor or Socialist, is government from the top downward, so far as industry is concerned, and so is not real Democracy.

Industry is the most vital thing in society, because it is the means whereby we live. If we have not Democracy in Industry, we have not Democracy at all.

Again I repeat, let the Victorian Socialist Party clearly define what form of Industrial Unionism they favor.—J. A. Dawson.

## WHO CARES?

A toil-worn man with calloused hands  
With forehead seared with labor's brands—  
Worked out—worn out—who understands?  
What do you care?

A woman, wan, and faint and weak.  
The roses faded from her cheek—  
She finds the rest of her kindred seek  
What do you care?

A child, who trudges to his work.  
Where dangers and diseases lurk.  
And, gaunted, fears his task to shirk—  
What do you care?

The army of them, far and wide  
They falter onward, hollow-eyed—  
We pass by on the other side—  
What do you care?

If hunger haunts the poor and low,  
If want dogs them where'er they go,  
It is a thing we do not know.  
What do we care?

If of their very blood and lives  
We reap the profit that survives—  
What of the homes where sorrow hives?  
What do we care?

Why can't we care? Oh, that we could  
Clasp hands and know the things we should  
And feel the thrill of brotherhood!  
Why can't we care?

—Wilbur D. Nesbit.

# Towards Industrial Democracy

## Is Political Action Necessary? The A.S.P. Attitude.

At the conference of the building trade unions held in Melbourne, August 31, to consider the scheme for One Union for the Building Industry, a preamble was read leaving out the political clause. The following took place (as reported in "Herald"):

Mr. J. Kilburn (New South Wales), to Mr. Mulvogue: Do you not include revolutionary political action in your preamble?

Mr. Mulvogue: I have never had time to give consideration to a revolution in the political atmosphere. I believe that if any revolution is going to come about for the working classes, one of the first steps would be the abolition of the present political atmosphere.

Mr. J. Kilburn: I believe that the working class must function in the industrial and political fields, and I also believe that we must have a political vanguard in clearing the way for the march of the industrially organised workers.

A delegate: I cannot see any difference between this preamble and that of the I.W.W.

Mr. P. J. Smith (enthusiastically): Hear, hear.

Mr. Mulvogue: Once we have attained industrial democracy we shall no longer require representatives such as we have to-day; our representatives must be simply and solely industrialists. As Mr. W. M. Hughes said, "The political machine is simply the scaffolding for industrial democracy." When we have achieved that we can knock away the scaffolding. All we want are industrial working class representatives. I know no boundary line between Victoria and New South Wales, or any other State.

After further debate the preamble was adopted.

Now, who is right in this instance, Mulvogue or Kilburn?

We say most emphatically that Kilburn stated the correct position.

Let Wm. Paul, a teacher of Social Science Classes, and a member of the Socialist Labor Party, speak for our position. He says in "The State," pp. 196-199: "The revolutionary Socialist denies that State ownership can end in anything other than a bureaucratic despotism. The State can not democratically control industry. Industry can only be democratically owned and controlled by the workers electing directly from their own ranks industrial administrative committees. Socialism will be fundamentally an industrial system; its constituencies will be of an industrial character. Thus those carrying on the social activities and industries of society will be directly represented in the local and central industrial councils of social administration. In this way the powers of such delegates will flow upwards from those carrying on the work and conversant with the needs of the community. When the central administrative industrial committee meets it will represent every phase of social activity."

## Administration of Things.

Hence the capitalist political or geographical State will be replaced by the industrial administrative committee of Socialism. The transition from the one social system to the other will be the social revolution. The political State throughout history has meant the government of men by ruling classes; the Republic of Socialism will be the government of industry administered on behalf of the whole community. The former meant the economic and political subjection of the many; the latter will mean the economic freedom of all—it will be, therefore, a true democracy.

The slave States of Greece and Rome existed to exploit and intimidate the propertyless slaves. The feudal State buttressed the interests of the landed class at the expense of the serf on the land and the craftsmen in the towns. The modern capitalist State, the last in the series, will pass away with the inauguration of Industrial Democracy. Socialism will require no political State because there will be neither a privileged property class nor a downtrodden propertyless class; there

will be no social disorder as a result, because there will be no clash of economic interests; there will be no need to create a power to make "order." Thus, as Engels shows, the State will die out. With it will end the government of men and make way for the administration of industry. Likewise Bebel declares:

"Along with the State die out its representatives—cabinet ministers, parliaments, standing armies, police and constables, courts, district attorneys, prison officials, tariff and tax collectors; in short, the whole political apparatus. Barracks, and such other military structures, palaces of law and of administration, prisons—all will now await better use. Ten thousand laws, decrees, and regulations become so much rubbish; they have only historic value. The great and yet the petty parliamentary struggles with which the men of tongue imagine they rule and guide the world are no more; they will have made room for administrative colleges and delegations, whose attention will be engaged in the best means of production and distribution, in ascertaining the volume of supplies needed, in introducing and applying effective improvements in art, in architecture, in intercourse, in the process of production, etc. These are all practical matters, visible and tangible, toward which everyone stands objectively, there being no personal interests hostile to society to affect their judgment."

We see, therefore, that the function of the future administration of society will be industrial. The constructive element in the social revolution will be the action of the Industrial Union seizing the means of production in order to administer the wants of the community.

## Industrial Unionism.

True to the dictum of social science, that the embryo of the future social system must be nourished within the womb of the old system, the revolutionary Socialist movement sets out to build up within capitalism the industrial organisation of the workers which will carry on the administrative work under Socialism. Industrial Unionism not only differs from sectional craft unionism in structure; Industrial Unionism's most important function is to unite all the workers for the great and glorious task of carrying on the production of wealth under Socialism on behalf of the community. Thus Industrial Unionism is the constructive weapon in the coming social revolution.

It does not follow, however, that political action plays no part in the social revolution. We have already seen that the special function of the State is to protect the interests of the ruling class. In order to facilitate the work of the industrial organisation it is absolutely imperative for the workers to disarm the capitalist class by wrenching from it its power over the political State.

The State powers include the armed forces of the nation which may be turned against the revolutionary workers. The political weapon of Labor, by destroying the capitalist control of the State, makes possible a peaceful social revolution. But in order to tear the State out of the grasp of the ruling class the workers' political organisation must capture the political machinery of capitalism. Daniel De Leon, in a famous pamphlet, "The Demise of the Workers' International Industrial Union,"—a work equally as epoch-making as the "Communist Manifesto"—says regarding the function of the political organisation of Labor:

"Inestimable is the value, dignified the posture, of the political movement. It affords the Labor movement the opportunity to vent its purposes and its methods free, over and above board, in the noon-day light of the sun, whereas and otherwise its agitation would be consigned to the circumscribed sphere of the rat-hole. The political movement renders the masses accessible to the propaganda of Labor; it raises the Labor movement above the category of a 'conspiracy'; it places the movement in line with the spirit of the age, which, on the one hand, denies the power of conspiracy in matters that not only affect the masses, but in which the masses must themselves be intelligent actors, and, on the other hand, demands the freest of utterance. In short and in fine, the political movement bows to the methods of civilised discussion: it gives a

Continued on page 4.



TOWARDS INDUSTRIAL  
DEMOCRACY.

Continued from Page 3.

chance to the peaceful solution of the great questions at issue."

It is, therefore, the special function of the political movement to uproot the capitalist State. The work of the political weapon is purely destructive, to destroy the capitalist system.

Mr. Mulvogue has much yet to learn. If the Industrial Movement attempts to abolish the "political atmosphere" as he terms it, or rightly termed "the political State," it lays itself open to the powers of the Political State—the executive of the capitalist class—who will by means of the armed forces of "law and order" crush it. If the Industrial Movement organises and advocates to the tune of "abolish the ballot box" it will come under the heading of "Sedition."

The Political Movement alone can destroy the Political State. The Political Movement can never by any stretch of the imagination of law be termed "Seditious," so long as it bows to the civilised ballot. As J. Kilburn so aptly stated, "we must have a political vanguard in clearing the way for the march of the industrially organised workers."

## A. S. P.

## NEWS AND NOTES.

## SYDNEY BRANCH.

On Sunday, Sept. 8th, Mr. W. J. Miles lectured in the above branch's hall, his subject being "The traitorous conspiracy against democracy." The hall was crowded, and the lecturer listened to with great interest. Mr. Miles stated that the great danger threatening Australia at the present time was Imperial Federation, and that if that took place, democracy was absolutely crushed in this country.

He gave it as his opinion that the need for Imperial Federation would be so plausibly stated by the ruling class, that it would be accepted by the majority of the Australian people, pointing out as he proceeded the arguments that were already being used to bring about this result; and the effects that would follow if it WERE brought about.

In the course of his address, the speaker stated that he considered Socialism to be an ideal which sounded good, and which would be good, but which was utterly impracticable; also that the Socialists adopted a "don't care" attitude to important matters like the one in question, and simply stood aloof, waiting for the capitalist system to explode with its own combustion.

As may be expected the questions and discussion were lively, but unfortunately the time did not permit much of the latter.

The chairman asked Mr. Miles if he would accept a debate on some of the points raised, and he consented readily, consequently we hope that it will be arranged for an early date.

On the previous Sunday, Mr. J. S. Garden was prevented from attending, as advertised, and Com. G. Nelson stepped into the breach, and lectured on "Phases of the One Big Union Scheme." He dealt with different instructive points in the scheme, and at the close of his address, answered a number of questions, which were followed by the usual discussion.

Before the lecture Mr. F. Hanney played several violin selections which were keenly appreciated by the audience.

Paper sales continue good, and the Saturday night dance is drawing better attendances each week.

MARCIA REARDON,  
Secretary.

Whether your shells hit the target or not,  
Your cost is six hundred dollars a shot.  
You things of noise and flame and power,  
We feed you a hundred barrels of flour  
Each time you roar. Your flame is red  
With twenty thousands loaves of bread.  
Silence! A million hungry men  
Seek bread to fill their mouths again.  
—P. F. McCarthy in "N.Y. World."

## To Starve Russia.

## A GERMAN SCHEME.

## M. PHILLIPS PRICE.

Moscow, May 30.

The declaration of martial law to-day in Moscow and the mobilisation of workmen of military age was caused by counter-revolutionary attempts on the Soviet Government from two quarters.

Some of the Czecho-Slav troops in Russia (prisoners of war) have revolted and seized certain points of Central Russia and Western Siberia. The motive for this, according to the Czecho-Slavs, is the demand of the Soviet Government that they shall give up the arms which have come into their possession.

Equally serious is the situation on the Don and in South-east Russia, where the counter-revolutionary attempt is being made under the inspiration of Germany. The peace negotiations which began recently at Kieff between representatives of the Soviet Government and the pro-German Monarchist Government of the Ukraine, are being used as a fitting occasion for Pan-Germanism to trot out a new small nationality thirsting for the benevolent protection of Berlin. There, therefore, appeared in Kieff last week ambassadors of the so-called South-eastern Alliance of Don and Kuban Cossacks and Tartars of the Steppes, while at the same time a certain General Krasnoff, with the aid of German troops, has declared himself Ataman of the Cossacks. In a proclamation this gentleman described these territories as part of the Russian Empire, which, according to him, still exists, and states his intention of reverting to the pre-revolutionary Czarist regime.

Gen. Krasnoff was one of Kerensky's generals, who advanced on Petrograd last November, and was taken prisoner by the Bolsheviks, but released on parole. He then took part in an attempt to turn the Ukraine into an anti-Bolshevik centre. Having got all he could from the Allies, he suddenly found the Germans more useful. The latter are evidently seriously intending to establish a monarchist counter-revolutionary Government in South-eastern Russia, in order to bring Northern Russia to its knees by starvation. The official German explanation given out here for this move is that as the Soviet Government is entering into close relations with the Allies, and is about to conclude a new agreement with the Allies, the Central Powers must protect their interests under the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

The Soviet Government, of course, knows nothing about any new rapprochement with the Allies, and does not appear to be taking very seriously the agency telegrams with which it has been bombarded from London during the last two days. On the other hand, I hear that pleasure is expressed in official quarters here that the Allies have abandoned secret diplomacy and allow themselves the luxury of openly communicating with the Soviet Government, even if they do so only through the medium of a telegraph agency.—"Manchester Guardian," 12/6/18.

## THE WAYS OF THE CAPITALIST.

Behold! The capitalist is abroad in the land; his ways passeth all understanding. He layeth his hands on the fields, and on the treasures in the bowels of the earth, saying: It is the Lord's and mine. His usury stirreth up strife, but his bank account covereth all sins. He delighteth in a false balance, and a just weight is an abomination before his eyes.

He merely winketh with the eye and raiseth the price of coal and oil. He pulleth the strings, and behold, law-makers, judges, and labor fakirs jumpeth at his bidding.

He keepeth the path of judgment, and preserveth the ways of his gunmen. He gathereth unto himself in the summer; yea, in the autumn and in the winter and in the spring he gather unto himself.

He gloateth on the words of the Craft Union official and Labor Politician, but the "preamble" of the One Big Union as laid down by the Industrial Socialist are as vinegar to his teeth.

He lighteth the way with the burning tent of his laborers, but he is a buckler to those that boweth meekly before his throne and respecteth his laws.

Verily, his cunning is manifest, but the hour swiftly approacheth when the workers, by their political and industrial strength, shall give him the sack, and the earth shall no longer know him.

## A.S.P. Badges

A NEW SUPPLY OF BADGES HAVE COME TO HAND, AND ARE NOW PROCURABLE AT 1/6, POSTAGE 1/8. QUANTITIES TO BRANCHES AT 1/5 EACH.

MONEY MUST ACCOMPANY ALL ORDERS; ADDRESS SAME TO THE GEN. SEC., A.S.P., 115 GOULBURN ST., SYDNEY.

## Economic Class

THE ECONOMIC CLASS IS BEING HELD IN SYDNEY BRANCH HALL EVERY THURSDAY EVENING. ALL THOSE WHO DESIRE A KNOWLEDGE OF ECONOMICS SHOULD MAKE SURE OF ATTENDING.

## The Workers' International Industrial Union.



## PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who made up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the toilers come together on the political field under the banner of a distinct revolutionary political party governed by the workers class interests, and on the industrial field under the banner of One Great Industrial Union to take and hold all means of production and distribution, and to run them for the benefit of all wealth producers.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the concentrating of the management of industries into fewer hands make the trades union unable to cope with the evergrowing power of the employing class, because the trades unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. The trades unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions must be changed, the interests of the working-class upheld, and while the capitalist rule still prevails all possible relief for the workers must be secured. That can only be done by an organisation aiming steadily at the complete overthrow of the capitalist wage system, and formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lock-out is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

## THE A. S. P.

## Will hold Social and Dance

IN LEIGH HOUSE.

Wednesday, October 2nd.

In Aid of  
ORGANISING FUND.

Tickets 1s.

Dancing 8 till 11 p.m.

## MELBOURNE LECTURES!

EVERY SUNDAY EVENING.

Under the Auspices of the Australian Socialist Party at

47 VICTORIA ST., CITY.

Sept. 15.—Reform or Revolution.—J. B. SCOTT.

Sept. 22.—Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.—P. WORK.

Sept. 29.—Socialism and Religion.—W. SMITH.

Oct. 6.—Life of Emerson.—T. OSBORNE.

Oct. 13.—Destitute Allowance.—H. LAN-GRIDGE.

Oct. 20.—Syndicalism.—J. MULLIS.

## COMING LECTURES!

SOCIALIST HALL, 369 PITT ST.  
(OPP. DANKS.)

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 15th,  
G. Burns, ex M.H.R.

"The History of some Australian Labor Leaders."

## SOCIALIST HALL

369 Pitt Street.

DANCE EVERY SATURDAY NIGHT

LECTURE EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

## TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

Whoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

## BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this office

## BROKEN HILL.

Socialist Hall, Sulphide St.

All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.

Every Sunday morning: Lectures.

Every Sunday night, 7.30: Lectures.

Study course of Scientific Socialism.

Every Thursday night, 7.30.

Public Speaker Class.

Good Library for Members!

## CORRIMAL.

Rebels on the South Coast, come along and link up with a scientific working-class organisation. A welcome awaits you.

Meetings every back Sunday, 2 p.m.

E. R. BROWNE, Secretary.

Railway Street, Corrimal.

## IPSWICH BRANCH.

Branch meets Wednesday, Socialist Hall, Brisbane street.

Out-door propaganda, Friday evenings Q. T. corner. Library for members.

P. STALKER, Secretary.

## MELBOURNE BRANCH.

47 Victoria St., Melbourne.

Library and Reading Room for members.

Lectures held every Sunday Evening.

SPEAKERS' CLASS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING.

## NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Hall, Hatte's Arcade, King St., Newtown.

Library for Members.

Business meeting held alternate Thursday evening.

## SYDNEY BRANCH.

Hall, 369 Pitt St., City.

Library for members.

Lecture every Sunday evening.

Debating class held every Monday evening.

Business meeting every alternate Thursday evening.

## THE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION.

(Australian Administration)  
Hatte's Arcade, King St.,  
Newtown, N.S.W.

## RECRUITING LOCAL No. 1.

MEETS ALTERNATE MONDAYS EVENINGS, HATTE'S ARCADE, KING ST., NEWTOWN.

## RECRUITING LOCAL No. 2.

Meets alternate Wednesday EVENINGS,  
47 VICTORIA ST., MELBOURNE.

## RECRUITING LOCAL No. 3.

MEETS ALTERNATE SUNDAYS,  
3 p.m., MONTAGGI.

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